1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

of the districts mentioned, the forests are not of such a nature as to lend themselves, in the near future, to profitable exploitation. Neither is there any ground for supposing that in the interior of the Chaco, where the soil in the greater part consists of loess-like strata, there is any prospect of finding any valuable minerals, or any other important products of nature. The great possibilities for cattle-ranching that exist in certain parts of this region, will, however, probably facilitate its colonization. If, contrary to expectation, gold-bearing ground, for instance, were discovered on the Chaco, even those parts of the »great hunting ground« that are most difficult of access would, no doubt, before long be explored.

And it was precisely the thirst for gold and silver that first led white men into the Chaco. The Portuguese, Alejo García, and some countrymen companions were the first whites who visited this region. About 1520 these adventurers, at the head of an army numbering some 2,000 Guarani Indians, marched right across the Chaco, from Rio Paraguay to the Andes, and invaded Peru. From the Indians of Rio Paraguay, García had heard rumours of that country, and of its wealth in gold and silver, and it was covetousness of these precious metals that was the motive force in the hazardous and arduous march through the Chaco. Baron Nordenskiöld has established that this expedition was probably made some year, or years, before Pizarro's arrival in Peru, and that thus García and his companions probably were the first Europeans who obtained personal knowledge of the ancient Inca kingdom.[1]

Although the Gran Chaco, as we have seen, was visited by white men at the beginning of the 16th century, it was only in the latter years of last century that any detailed and reliable information became obtainable of the more inaccessible parts of this region. The French explorer, J. Crevaux,[2] who intended to make extensive research of the country and population around the Pilcomayo, was given no opportunity of carrying out his plan, for, already at the outset of his expedition, in 1882, he was murdered by Chaco Indians, probably members of the Choroti, as well as the Toba, tribe. Another French explorer, Thouar,[3] has described a journey across the Chaco.[3] The Norwegian, Lieutenant Storm, has published important observations from two expeditions of his on the

[1] Nordenskiöld (16), p. 46 et seq.
[2] Crevaux (1), pp. XIII—XVI.
[3] Thouar (1).

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

291 [[77]] The women of the Choroti, especially the younger ones, have very generally adopted the woman's garment common among the Chiriguano, which is called »tipoy» and consists of a cloak-like covering hanging from the shoulders, where it is secured with cactus spines (fig. 62). The cloth forming the material of these tipoys, is an acquisition by the Choroti from the whites. I saw Choroti girls that had not troubled to sew their tipoys together, but thought it sufficient to pin the edges together with cactus spines down one side. Occasionally the girls wore the tipoy from the hips, as seen in fig. 61. The original garb of the Choroti women consists of a deer skin, or a length of home-woven woollen cloth wrapped round the hips (fig. 21), leaving bare the upper part of the body. Nowadays one only sees elderly women dressed in this way.

301 Contrasted with the men, the women have very few, and very unpretentious, ornaments. The girls wear a necklace or two, made from glass beads or porcelain buttons (fig. 61 and 62), and lizard-skin finger rings. Now and again one may see a woman with armlets, or finger rings, consisting of threaded glass beads, pieces of leather or palm leaf (fig. 62, the girl on the extreme right, and fig. 152).

302 304 The practice of decorating the face by tattooing and painting is common to both sexes. The men, however, are not always tattooed, which, on the other hand, is the case with the women. Painting of the face, which may safely be assumed to possess magic significance,[1] is performed by men as well as women on all important occasions.

304 Whilst it is the prerogative of the men to adorn themselves with the showier ornaments, it is generally the women who display the more abundant tattooing (cf. figs. 63—66 and 71—76). The tattoo marks that a fully grown Choroti woman wears on her face, have not been worked on her all at the same time, but during different phases of her life as she grows up. According to Nordenskiöld, the Choroti begin tattooing their children already when the latter have reached an age of from 5 to 7 years,[2] and thenceforth various designs are added as the years pass. As a rule, the men are not tattooed, or they may have just a few tattoo marks (fig. 63), and it is exceptional to see Choroti men as profusely tattooed as the men in figs. 64—66.[3] As I have already pointed

[1] See Chap. XII.

[2] Nordenskiöld (13), p. 68.

[3] Compare, with this for instance, Lehmann-Nitsche (1), pp. 80 and 81, and Nordenskiöld (13), pp. 69 and 70.

[text continues on p. 75]

411 with the grain of the wood, and these point to the possibility that the casing may be concealing some defect in the stave. There is, however, nothing which prevents the casing on this bow from being, at the same time, an instrument of magic and a practical means of reinforcement.

411 284 [283] The bow string, which consists of two, three, or more strips of skin (usually deerskin),[1] is often twice the length of the bow (see figs. 90, 95 and 96). One end of the string is fixed with a hard knot to one of the bow ends fig. 93 a). This end of the bow is pressed on the ground, and then the stave is given a slight bend — with the help of the knee — and the string is wound on to the upper bow end, in the way seen in figs. 92 and 93 b. The spare end of the string is then tied along the outer side of the bow, as seen in fig. 90. This figure shows a comparatively well-made Choroti bow, without pared-down string-holds, or windings for holding the string in position, and with the string put on in the proper way. On the other hand, fig. 91 shows a bow with string-hold windings and a string badly put on. In shooting, the Choroti generally hold the bow so that the end wound with the loose end of the string points downwards (figs. 90, 91 and 96).

411 Even when the bow is »at rest» (that is to say, when the string is not much tightened), the middle part of the string, owing to the said curving of the stave ends, will be at a certain distance from the stave, which makes it possible to use the bow without first tightening the string. But if there is time for shortening the string, this is almost always done. The Choroti shorten and lengthen the bow string, in the same way as is done by the Chiriguano on their bows (see p. 208).

For the protection of the wrist from the blow of the string, the Choroti sometimes use broad wrist guards of leather.[2]

[177] The arrows used by the Choroti are, as a rule, tipped with some hard, heavy wood (figs. 97—103), but iron arrow-heads (figs. 104—106) are more and more coming into use. Occasionally, the fore end of a wooden arrow-head may be fixed into the marrow cavity of a sharpened piece of bone. Such bone-tipped arrows are, however, very rarely met with among the Choroti; for my own part, I failed to acquire more than a single

[1] The Choroti also use bow strings made of caraguatá fibre; Nordenskiöld (11), p. 36. I never myself, however, saw any bow strings of that kind.

[2] Nordenskiöld (11), p. 43.

[text continues on p. 94]

1: Rosen E-5 (1901-1902) 1924 SK6 Choroti SK6

of one, or both, holes which are at the side edges of the disc whistle, different tones are obtained, and if both the side holes are open, the whistle renders a third note. 534

A primitive type of whistle found among the Choroti, one which I have not myself seen, consists according to Nordenskiöld of the skull of some small animal, in which all apertures have been stopped up, with the exception of the *foramen magnum*.[1] The instrument is blown on by way of this orifice in the same way as are the flutes and disc whistles. Koch-Grünberg has reproduced and described two whistles made out of (nose-bear?) skulls (Nasua sp.) from the Kobé Indians on Rio Cuduiary, and one whistle consisting of a deer skull (Cervus rufus) from the Tukáno on Rio Tiquié.[2] These cranium whistles are partly plastered over with pitch, but the basal and nasal, orifices are left open, whilst the cranium whistles described from the Choroti by Nordenskiöld only have the *foramen magnum* left open. Hence the former can be used both as open and as closed whistles, and consequently can produce two notes (and eventually their harmonics), whilst the cranium whistles of the Choroti are only capable of one note (with a possible harmonic). I do not consider it improbable that certain, very singular-looking Old Peruvian whistles of earthenware or stone constitute forms of development out of the primitive cranium whistle.[3]

The cow-horn trumpets that Nordenskiöld has seen among the Choroti are certain to be post-Columbian cultural elements, seeing that there were no cattle in America prior to the invasion by the whites. In these trumpets the mouthpiece consists of a reed, and the tone is produced by means of a reed splinter, which is cut out, and which, when the horn is blown, vibrates in the same way as the metal tongue of an ordinary toy trumpet.[4] [177]

Nordenskiöld has seen music bows among the Choroti, but no instrument of that class has yet been described from that tribe, and as I personally got no opportunity of seeing a Choroti playing on a music bow, I am not in a position to describe the manner in which the instrument in question is played among these Indians.[5]

[1] Nordenskiöld (11), p. 187.

[2] Koch-Grünberg (3), pp. 303—304.

[3] See for example Mead (1), pl. IV, fig. 8; Joyce (1), p. 73 and plate VI, figs. 1 and 3; Jijón y Cámano (1), pl. XVII, XVIII and XIX; von Rosen (1), pp. 378 and 379, and fig. 356.

[4] Nordenskiöld (11), fig. 50.

[5] For the occurrence of music bows in South America, see: Bolinder (2), Nordenskiöld (18), pp. 80 and 84; (11), pp. 176 and 177, and (1), p. 15.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

XXVIII.

The Influence of the Whites on the Material Culture of the Ashluslay and Choroti.

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In the foregoing I have given an account of the material culture of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians, and of the geographical distribution over the rest of S. America of elements of civilization characteristic of these tribes. In what follows I intend, in continuation of the above exposition, to bring together in tabular form such culture-elements as plainly have a common origin, beginning with those which the Indians of the Chaco have received from the whites. Such things as tools, clothes, etc., acquired by the Indians from the whites are not included, but only those of which they got the idea from white men. In addition, there are domestic animals and some cultivated plants which have come to them from the same quarter. We will, then, first try to skim off the most recent layer, as it were, of the civilization of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians.

The positive influence of white culture is, generally speaking, greater in those parts where the Indians live far away from the whites, than in in those where they live in direct dependence under the white man. Thus, the Ashluslay, who have preserved their independence, carry on ranching on a large scale, while some Mataco tribes, almost entirely dependent, have no cattle at all. Up to quite recent times the Ashluslay were[1]) in the happy position of being

[1]) At least they were so as late as A. D. 1908—1909.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

able to derive advantages from the whites without falling into irretrievable poverty.

Domestic animals and things connected with them are of course the most important contributions received by the Choroti and Ashluslay from the whites.

Otherwise, the cultural life and the handicrafts of the Choroti and Ashluslay Indians have been little influenced by the whites, i. e., when one thinks solely of positive and not of negative influence.

Table I.

Elements of culture received by the Choroti and Ashluslay from the whites + .

1)	Dwellings	---
2)	Beds	---
3)	Cultivated plants and agricultural tools.	
	Water melons	+
4)	Implements used in harvesting wild plants	—
5)	Hunting weapons and implements.	
	Pellet bow.' (Fig. 8. Map 5)	+ ?
6)	Weapons never or seldom used for hunting	
7)	Fishing tackle	—
8)	Domestic animals and articles connected with them	
	Horse	+
	Cattle	+
	Goat	+
	Sheep	+
	Poultry	+
	Cats	+
	Spurs	+
	Saddle	+
9)	Tools	
	Tools made of pieces of old iron (Indian work)	+
	Handles of iron tools. (Indian work)	+
10)	Implements for making fire.	
	Tinder-box for flint and steel	+

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

A
11) Hearth and its accessories ..... —
C
12) Utensils used in the preparation and consumption of food
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a) in preparing meal ..... —
b) Cooking pot ..... —
c) Spit ..... —
d) Vessels holding food to be eaten ..... —
e) Implements with which to eat. Horn spoon +
13) Means of indulgence and articles in connection .. —
14) Clothes ..... —
15) Articles connected with the deforming of the body —
16) Tattooing instruments ..... —
17) Ornaments for the body, etc ..... —
18) Toilet articles ..... —
19) Implements for carrying burdens ..... —
20) Articles for keeping things in ..... —
21) Games and playthings..... —
22) Signalling and musical instruments etc
Musical bows ..... +
Trumpets of cowhorn ..... +
23) Trophies ..... —
24) Property marks .....
25) Various handicrafts ?
a) Rope and string manufacture and spinning —
b) Sewing or the use of an eyed needle ..... —
c) Knitting and plaiting
d) Twisting of ropes and string..... —
e) Weaving ..... —
f) Pottery ..... —
g) Wood carving ..... —
h) Bone and shell bead work ..... —
i) Carving and ornamentation of calabashes.. —
j) Feather work ..... —
k) Leather work ..... —

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

XXIX.

The Influence of the Mountain Civilization in the Gran Chaco.

A C 177

Having given some account of the cultural influence of the whites in the Chaco, I will now bring forward the culture-elements which the Choroti and Ashluslay, as was explained above, seem to have received from the mountain civilization, i. e.; the Bronze Age civilization of western S. America. The western influence did not bring about any revolution in the civilization of the Chaco tribes, but it brought them a very considerable addition.

Table 2.

Elements of culture received by the Choroti and the Ashluslay from the mountain civilization. + +

1)	Dwellings	—
2)	Beds	—
3)	Cultivated plants and agricultural tools	
	Spades (Map 1)	+
4)	Implements used for harvesting wild plants	—
5)	Hunting weapons and inplements.	+?
6)	Weapons seldom or never used for hunting.	
	Knuckledusters (Map 6)	+
	Clubs with outstanding head	+
7)	Fishing tackle	—
8)	Domestic animals and articles in connection with them	—

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

9) Tools.
Wooden knives (in the form found among the Choroti and Ashluslay) ..... +
Toothed scrapers of wood ..... +
10) Tools for making fire ..... —
11) Hearths and their accessories.
Feather fire-fan. (Map 9) ..... +
12) Utensils used in the preparation and consumption of food.
a) In the preparation of meal ..... —
b) Cooking pots ..... —
c) Spits ..... —
d) Vessels holding food to be eaten: wooden bowls. (Map 12) ..... +
e) Implements with which to eat: wooden spoons. (Map 13) ..... +
13) Means of indulgence and articles thereto appertaining —
14) Clothes
Poncho ..... +
Shirt. (Map 16) ..... +
Woven girdle ..... +
Sandals. (Map 17) ..... +
15) Articles connected with the deforming of the body —
16) Articles connected with tattooing ..... —
17) Ornaments for the body .....
Threadcross (Map. 22) ..... ?
Shell-beads .....
The custom of making spangles of shell-beads (Map. 20) ..... +
Tassels on bands and clothes ..... +
Browbands (woven). (Map 21) ..... +
Netted hoods. (Chaco type) ..... +
18) Toilet articles.
Stick combs (in the form found among the Choroti and Ashluslay) +
Wooden combs ..... +

19) Implements for carrying burdens: Earthen vessels carried by a string. (Fig. 4[3]) ..... + c
20) Articles used for keeping things in ..... — 177
21) Games and playthings
Games of chance in general (Map 27)..... +
Tsúka game ..... +
22) Signalling and musical instruments etc.
Skin drum and drumstick (Map 30) ..... +
Long wooden whistle (Fig. 53) (Map 32).... +
Round wooden whistle (Map 33)..... ?
23) Trophies. ..... —
24) Family marks. (Map 34)..... ?
25) Various handicrafts.
a) Rope and string making and spinning.
Bakaïrí spindle. (Map 35) ..... +
b) Sewing or the use of the eyed needle. (Map 36) ..... +?
c) Knitting and plaiting.
Technique 5 (Map 37)..... +
d) Rope and string making.
Fine rope twisting ..... +
e) Weaving.
Ornamented borders on fabrics ..... +
Kelim technique. (Map 38)..... +
f) Pottery
Painting of earthen vessels ..... —
Handles on ditto (Map 39) ..... +
Waterpots ..... +
g) Wood carving ..... —
h) Bone and shell-bead work..... —
i) Carving and ornamentation of calabashes
Calabashes with lids. (Map 42) ..... +
Encaustic ornamentation of calabashes (Map 43) ..... +
Sewing of cracked calabashes. (Map 44) .. +

? [illegible] pyrography. — Analysis

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5
Chaco Indians SK4

A
E
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j) Feather work ..... —
k) Leather work ..... —

I
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From this we see that the influence of the mountain civilization in the Chaco has been very considerable. It is manifest, from the maps and from the facts adduced by me in the following, that nearly all the culture elements derived from the mountain civilization are lacking in most of the tribes of N. E. Bolivia. In that district, practically, only the Yuracáre possess these elements of culture.

An exception is afforded by the shirt, the distribution of which, however, has most certainly been considerably extended by missionaries in post-Columbian times.

The Chiriguano and the Chané possess sundry of the culture-elements common to the Choroti, Ashluslay and the mountain civilization. The Chané have certainly dwelt long in the tract they now occupy, while the Chiriguano, as mentioned above, as late as the opening of the 16th century, emigrated from the district around the Rio Paraná to the foot of the Andes. Thanks to the interchange of ideas and customs which has since taken place, the Chané and the Chiriguano have now a very similar cultural standpoint. We may presume that it is through the mediation of the Chané that the Chiriguano received certain culture-elements from the mountain civilization[1]).

The following table may serve to illustrate the above.

[1]) The Chiriguano may surely be reckoned among the tribes whose cultural level has been raised by the kidnapping of women. When they conquered the territory now inhabited by them, they seized the women of tribes possessing a higher form of civilization. Undoubtedly, they kidnapped large numbers of Chané women. Significantly enough it is pottery and weaving, i.e. chiefly female handicrafts, which have attained the highest pitch of development. The Guarayú, who emigrated at the same time as the Chiriguano to the tract they now inhabit, had not the same opportunities of raising their cultural level by the kidnapping of women, whence it happens that the material culture of the Chiriguano is considerably higher than that of the Guarayú.

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5
Chaco Indians SK4

XXX.

Elements of Culture received by the Indians of the Gran Chaco from the northern part of S. America.

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In the foregoing I have collected the culture-elements received by the Choroti and the Ashluslay from the whites as well as from the Bronze Age culture of the west and south-west. In the following I shall review those culture-elements whose distribution is markedly northern.

The undoubted acquisitions of the Choroti and Ashluslay from this quarter do not appear to be many. The most important would seem to be the loom and the cultivation of the manioc. The latter is, however, of no great significance to these Indians, as the manioc cannot everywhere be cultivated within their boundaries. Later on, it will probably be proved that many of the culture-elements whose distribution is imperfectly known come under this heading.

Most likely it is the Chané Indians and, possibly, the Guarani peoples who, in this case, have been the bearers of culture.

Table 3.

Northern and eastern culture-elements = +.

1)	Dwellings.	—
2)	Beds.	—
	Cultivated plants and agricultural implements.	
	Manioc.	+

A C I 177

4) Implements used in harvesting wild plants. ..... -
5) Hunting weapons and implements. ..... -
6) Weapons seldom or never used for hunting .... -
7) Fishing tackle. .....
Fishing with baskets put over the fish. ..... + ?
8) Domestic animals and articles connected with them -
9) Tools. .....
10) Implements for making fire. .....
11) Hearths and articles connected with them. ..... -
12) Implements and vessels used in the preparation and consumption of food.
(a) Used in the preparation of meal.
Grater for manioc. (Map 11) ..... +
Wooden mortars. (Map 10) ..... +
(b) Cooking pots ..... -
(c) Wooden spit. ..... -
(d) Vessels out of which food is eaten. ..... —
(e) Implements with which food is eaten. —
13) Means of indulgence. ..... -
14) Clothes.
Palometa stockings. ..... + ?
15) Articles connected with the deforming of the body. ..... -
16) Tattooing instruments ..... —
17) Ornaments for the body ..... —
18) Toilet articles
Stamp for painting the face. (Map 24)..... + ?
19) Apparatus for carrying things
Band for carrying children ..... +
20) Articles used for keeping things in..... -
21) Games and playthings
Maize-leaf ball. (Map 29) ..... +
22) Signalling and musical instruments, etc. ..... -
23) Trophies ..... —
24) Property marks..... -

25) Various kinds of handiwork.

a) The making of rope and string and spinning. Spindle with a knob on the upper end of the spindle rod. (Map 35) ..... +
b) Sewing or the use of the eyed needle ..... —
c) Knitting and plaiting. Technique 9. (Fig. 60.9) ..... +
d) Twisting of rope and string ..... +
e) Weaving ..... +
f) Pottery ..... —
g) Wood-carving ..... —
h) Bone and shell-bead work ..... —
i) Carving and ornamenting of calabashes .... —
j) Feather work ..... —
k) Leather work ..... —

The undoubted acquisitions of the Choroti and Ashluslay from northern S. America do not amount to very much.

On the other hand, we find a number of important culture-elements among the Chiriguano and Chané Indians who dwell on the borders of the Chaco. Their original home was in the northern part of S. America and they were not taken up by the Choroti, Ashluslay or kindred tribes. These culture-elements include:

Hammocks.

The seat.

Multi-pointed arrows.

Bow with sharply defined notches at the ends.

The panpipe. (Materials found in the Gran Chaco). The Indians may, however, have received the panpipe from the Bronze-Age culture in the west.

Basket work of various kinds.

From this it seems to me perfectly clear that the Choroti and the Ashluslay, like their neighbours the Toba, Mataco, and Lengua, did not migrate from the north to the region

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

XXXII.

Elements of Culture received by the Indians of the Chaco from the southern part of S. America.

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There is no multiplicity of culture-elements of southern origin among the Ashluslay and Choroti.

They give the impression of ancient elements of culture-relics from a time when the Choroti and Ashluslay probably possessed a civilization similar to that of the Ona and Patagonians (before the introduction of the horse), when they were still living in a colder climate than the one where they now dwell, a climate where it was an advantage to be in skins.

The ball-game with the (hockey-like) stick is probably derived from the mountain civilization, though it now occurs only in the Chaco and among the Araucanians.

Table 5.

Southern Culture-elements occurring among the Choroti and Ashluslay.

1)	Dwellings.	—
2)	Beds	
	Skin mats	+
3)	Cultivated plants and agricultural implements	—
4)	Implements used in the harvesting of wild plants	—
5)	Hunting weapons and implements.	
	Bowstring of strips of skin	+
	Bow without notch at the end	+

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

A
C
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6) Weapons seldom or never used for hunting. .... —
7) Fishing tackle ..... —
8) Domestic animals and articles in connection with them. —
9) Tools. —
10) Implements for making fire. —
11) Hearths and articles connected therewith. —
12) Implements and vessels used in the preparation and consumption of food. —
a) Used in the preparation of meal. —
b) Cooking utensils. —
c) Wooden spit. —
d) Vessels out of which food is eaten. —
e) Implements with which food is eaten. —
13) Means of indulgence and articles in connection therewith ..... —
14) Clothes.
Cloak made of several skins sewn together. (Map 15) +
Women's garment of skin (loin-cloth) ..... +
Leather girdles of various kinds..... +
15) Articles connected with the deforming of the body —
16) Tattooing instruments ..... —
17) Ornaments for the body ..... —
18) Toilet articles .....
Hairbrush..... +
19) Apparatus for carrying ..... —
20) Articles used for keeping things in
Bag of Ostrichneck skin ..... +
Bags of whole skin of small animals..... +
21) Games and playthings.
Ball-game with hockey-like stick (Map 28) ..... +
22) Signalling and musical instruments, etc. ..... —
23) Trophies ..... —
24) Property marks ..... —
25) Various handicrafts.
a) Manufacture of rope and string and spinning —

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

A C 177

Twisting of skin thongs	.....	+
b) Sewing or the use of the eyed needle	.....	—
c) Knitting and plaiting	.....	—
d) Twisting of rope and string	.....	—
e) Weaving	.....	—
f) Pottery	.....	—
g) Wood-carving	.....	—
h) Bone and shell-bed work	.....	—
i) Carving and ornamentation of calabashes	..	—
j) Feather work	.....	—
k) Leather work	.....	+

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909)1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

XXXIII.

Culture-elements among the Choroti and Ashluslay, the origin of which it is at present impossible to fix.

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We have been able to select certain culture-elements which the Choroti and Ashluslay received from the whites, a large number of which evidently came to the Chaco from the western area of civilization; some, again, derived from the northern and some from the southern part of S. America; and finally, some which seem to be peculiar to the tribes of the Chaco. There are still, however, a large number of culture-elements left.

We know, for instance, from what quarter the Choroti and Ashluslay learned the use of the handle on earthenware; but we do not know whence the art of making earthenware came to them. The distribution of the handle is markedly western, while the art of making pottery in general has been known all around the Chaco. Of course the Chaco Indians need not necessarily have adopted the manufacture of earthenware from the western area of civilization because their pottery was plainly influenced from that quarter. The same holds good concerning their use of the calabash, spinning, etc.

There is, as we saw in the foregoing, a large number of culture-elements among the Choroti and Ashluslay concerning which the literature on the subject gives so little information that it is impossible, at present, to indicate their distribution on the map. Culture-elements of this kind are, for instance,

2: Nordenskiöld E-5 (1908-1909) 1919
SK6 Choroti SK6
Ashluslay SK5

network and dwellings. They are, accordingly, indicated in the following table.

Many culture-elements now occur almost everywhere in S. America where the natural conditions for their occurrence are found. Consequently, it is impossible to distinguish the source where the Choroti and Ashluslay have derived them. To this category belong most cultivated plants and many other certainly ancient elements of culture.

Table 6.

1)	Dwellings.	
	Chaco huts (Ancient element of culture)	+
	Cooking sheds (Distribution imperfectly known)	+
2)	Beds.	
	Rush mat. (Distribution imperfectly known)	+
3)	Cultivated plants and agricultural implements.	
	Maize	+
	Zapallo (Cucurbita)	+
	Cotton	+
	Beans	+
	Tobacco	+
	Calabash fruit	+
	Sweet potatoes	+
	Digging stick	+
	Club for breaking up clods (Distribution imperfectly known)	+
	Implement for seeding corn-cobs (Distribution imperfectly known)	+
4)	Implements used in harvesting wild plants	—
5)	Hunting weapons and implements.	
	Bow and arrow in general (ancient culture-elements)	+
	Arrow for shooting birds	+
	Bola	+
	Sling (Map 4)	+
	Wristlets used by bowman (Distribution imperfectly known)	+

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Snares (Distribution imperfectly known)..... +

6) Weapons seldom or never used for hunting.
Bone dagger. (Distribution imperfectly known).. +
Fire arrow ..... +
Lance (Post-Columbian history imperfectly known) +
Leather armour (Post-Columbian history imperfectly known) ..... +

7) Fishing tackle.
Fishing by means of damming the stream. (Distribution imperfectly known) ..... +
Landing -net. (Distribution imperfectly known).. +

8) Domestic animals.
Dog. (Pre-Columbian distribution imperfectly known) ..... +

9) Tools.
Jaw of the pakmeta..... +
Bone awl. (Distribution imperfectly known)..... +

10) Implements for making fire.
Do. made from wooden rods (ancient culture element.) ..... +

11) Hearths and articles connected with them.
Wooden spit (Map 7) (ancient culture-element) .. +
Pit- oven. (Map 8) ..... +

12) Implements and vessels used in the preparation and consumption of food
a) Used in the preparation of meal ..... —
b) Cooking utensils in general ..... +
c) Vessels out of which food is eaten .....
Use of the calabash in general +
d) Implements with which food is eaten.....
Mussel-shell spoon (Distribution imperfectly known) +
Calabash spoon (Distribution imperfectly known) +
Eating-brush (Distribution imperfectly known) .. +

13) Means of indulgence
Tobacco-pipe (Map 14)..... +

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14)	Clothes.	
	Woven mantle (Post-Columbian history imperfectly known)	+
	Women's garment; so-called «tipoy»	+
15)	Articles connected with the deforming of the body	
	Ear-block. (ancient culture-element) (Map. 18)	+
16)	Tattooing (Map 19)	+
17)	Ornaments for the body.	
	Necklace of bored teeth	+
	Necklace and other ornaments of grains of corn, leather, etc	+
	Rings of segments of the tail-skin of the lizard	+
18)	Toilet articles.	
	Stick-combs (in general)	+
19)	Apparatus for carrying.	
	Carrying-net (ancient culture-element) (Map 25)	+
20)	Various articles for keeping things in	+
21)	Games and playthings.	
	Cat-cradle game. (Distribution imperfectly known)	+
	Stilts (Distribution imperfectly known)	+
	Bull-roarer (Distribution imperfectly known)	+
	Dolls in general	+
22)	Signalling and musical instruments, etc.	
	Rattle gourd (Ancient culture element). (Map 31)	+
	Girdles of the claws of animals	+
	Whistles in general	+
	Flutes in general	+
23)	Trophies.	
	Scalping	+
24)	Property marks. (Map 34)	—
25)	Various kinds of handiwork.	
	a) Manufacture of rope and string and spinning (in general)	+
	b) Sewing or the use of the eyed needle	—
	c) Knitting and netting.	

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Several kinds of knitting and netting. (Distribution imperfect-ly known)	+
Mesh-stick (Distribution imperfectly known)	+
d) Twisting of ropes and string (in general)	+
e) Weaving	--
f) Pottery (in general)	+
g) Wood carving (in general)	+
h) Bone and shell-bead work (in general)	+
i) Carving and ornamentation of calabashes (in general)	+
j) Feather-work (very imperfectly known)	+
k) Leather-work (in general)	+

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M /320 cont./
771 They have a vague idea of superior beings, whom they fear
776 without worshiping them; the cleverest one becomes the sorcerer
756 and exploits the poverty of his companions, especially today when
648 they are earning money from the whites, to whom they lend im-
464 portant services.

M They frequently move from the region that they occupy to
167 the Argentine Republic; they work, dress, learn some Spanish
177 and a slight smattering of civilization, and return to their lands to live as before.

Choroti

Ci The zone located southeast of Toba territory is occupied
131 by the Choroti Indians, who have their own language. They
197 occupy the geographic degree 22° 30' latitude and 64° 10' longitude, on the left bank of the Pilcomayo River.

Ci They are quite numerous and peaceful, and they are not
181 treacherous like their neighbors, the Toba. Nevertheless, they
648 inspire respect in all the neighboring tribes; if a mission were to be established at said degree, the conquest of all the Bolivian territory /321/ up to 24° would be accomplished without the need of so many small forts, which are such a great expense to the Nation and which do not create centers of trade and civilization.

Ci Father Gianelli in years past visited the Choroti Indians,
797 was received with displays of affection and appreciation, and
177 found among them good inclinations toward becoming civilized, but at that time the harvest was too much for so few evangelical workers.

Ci The Choroti are not so lazy and savage as the other tribes;
181 they devote themselves to the cultivation of a few seeds and to
241 the raising of cattle, although on a small scale. They are also
231 hunters, however, and when they occupy the banks of the
224 Pilcomayo, they take advantage of the fruits the river brings them, especially in the great floods.

/377/

Wooden Bowls and Basins

C 415 171 439 The Chiriguano also use wooden bowls (Fig. 49). I do not know whether they make them themselves or receive them from the half-breeds of the /Fig. 48 appears here/ San Luis region. In this latter case the Chiriguano of the San Luis (Entre-Rios) region would be the only ones to make them. In Tarija /Figs. 49-50 appear here / where these bowls are much sought after by the half-breeds, they were indicated to me as coming from that zone. The rare wooden bowls which /378/ I saw at Caipipendí had been bought by the Chiriguano in the course of their trips. The same origin must be attributed to the wooden troughs found among the Chiriguano who live near the Quichua half-breeds of Tarija department. These basins are used for washing food and also as bathtubs. Ci 415 177 The Choroti have wooden dishes (Nordenskiöld, 9, Fig. 20, p. 88) which have a shape very similar to that of the trough reproduced here (Fig. 50) and which doubtless were introduced among them either by the ancient Quichua or by the half-breeds. A 415 171 Among the Araucan of Argentina wooden basins are found, which are similar in every detail to those of the Indians and half-breeds of Bolivia and the specimen pictured here.

Chapter V

Tools of the Chiriguano

C 412 178 [177] The work tools the Chiriguano use nowadays are almost all of European manufacture. Here and there the ancient forms were kept when stone or bone were replaced by iron. Witness the adze of Plate XXII /see p.143 / which constitutes a curious survival of the eared or T-shaped ax certainly adopted by the Chiriguano after their migration and their establishment at the foot of the Andes. T-G [412 184] This type of ax is unknown to me from any other Tupi-Guarani tribe and is rare in the area occupied by the different nations belonging to this linguistic family (see Rivet, 1, pp. 149-155).

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco

Choroti SK6

574 only smoke for pleasure, and I doubt whether they ever used the tobacco
276 ceremonially as is the rule among the Indians of tropical South America.
[177] The custom is evidently of comparatively recent origin and has been introduced by the whites.

101 *Choroti* is a Guarani name given to our Indians by the Avas (Chiriguano) and now recognized by themselves. Their proper tribal name, however, is *Jóhuaha* [1]), a word the etymology of which is obscure but which seems to be equivalent to »our own people». Among themselves the Choroti never use any other name than Jóhuaha.

114 In the history of the Gran Chaco, a small and peaceful tribe like the *Choroti* can have played only an insignificant rôle, and the earliest European explorers seem not to have known them. The first author who mentions them is Father Lozano, S. J., who in his book of 1733 calls them Xolotas. But he tells us absolutely nothing about them, and the same may be said of several later travellers who occasionally mention them. The Swedish traveller von Rosen, who made a short visit among the Choroti in 1902, has published a small study of these Indians under the title *The Chorotes Indians of the Bolivian Chaco* (Stockholm, 1904). But v. Rosen's paper is based on very superficial observation and contains several errors which make its ethnographic value rather problematic. [2]) This may partly be due to the fact that v. Rosen never visited the Choroti in their own land on the other side of the Pilcomayo river, but only those families of the tribe which have been in the habit of living for certain periods near the village Caiza, situated just north of Yacuiba, at the easternmost cordilleras of the Andes.

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[1]) Nordenskiöld erroneously gives this name as *Yóshuahá* (*Indianerleben*, p. 28) and Hunt equally erroneously as *Yofuaha* (*El Choroti o Yofuaha*, *Revista del Museo de La Plata*. Bd. 23. Liverpool, 1915). The Indians themselves most clearly pronounce their name *Jóhuaha*, with the accent on the first syllable. The f-sound is lacking in the Choroti language, as in the languages of many other South American Indians.

[2]) Thus, when v. Rosen says that »polygamy only occurs among the rich, and the caciques have quite a number of wives», this sentence alone contains three mistakes. First, the Choroti are strictly monogamous, any form of polygamy being prohibited by their social morality and their women, who are extremely jealous; secondly, there are no »rich» people among the Choroti, all being equally rich or equally poor; and thirdly, although we may speak of caciques or chiefs among them, these have very limited power and do not distinguish themselves from the rest of the tribe in the way v. Rosen's statement seems to indicate. — Evidently v. Rosen has confounded the Choroti chiefs with those of other and more advanced tribes, probably the Avas (Chiriguano) or the Tobas.

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco SI7
Toba SI 12
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In subtropical land like the Chaco, where the weather is often very hot especially during the »summer-time», dress is naturally of the most simple kind. Both among the Mataco, the Choroti, and the Tobas, the most important article of the man's clothing is a small cotton waist-cloth which serves as a covering and protection for the genitals. In addition to this waist-cloth the Mataco and the Choroti formerly wore a kind of broad fringed leather-belt round the loins, whereas the Tobas covered the genitals with a small apron of skin or stuff. The rest of the body is among all the tribes generally kept entirely naked or is only covered by the usual necklaces and other ornaments, or by red *urucú*-painting. When the weather is cold, and on festival occasions, the men also wear big woollen blankets with interwoven linear patterns mostly in red colour. The blankets of the Lenguas and other tribes in eastern Chaco often show designs denoting venomous snakes etc., but such patterns are unknown to the Choroti, and where they are found they have originally been obtained from the interior of the country. Weaving is among all Chaco tribes exclusively a work incumbent on the women.

The Choroti man adjusts his blanket in different ways. In cold or wet weather it is wrapped round the body so as to cover one or both shoulders; when it is hot, he allows it to fall in a double fold from his waist, where it is either fastened by a belt or by tucking the folds of one corner into the other.

The usual clothing of the women is a short cotton petticoat reaching from the waist to a little below the knees, the upper part of the body remaining unclothed. This petticoat formerly consisted of deer or nutria skins sewn together, but since the present-day Choroti are poor hunters such skin loin-clothes are now rarely seen. According to Mr. Hunt, young Choroti girls have nowadays adopted the female dress of the Chiriguano (Avas), a kind of sleeveless, waistless gown caught at the shoulders with a couple of safety pins and known under the name of *tipoy*. At the time when I travelled in the Chaco these *tipoys* were only known to the women among the Bolivian Tobas, but not to the Choroti women, who always kept the upper part of their body uncovered and, in opposition to the Toba women, never showed any shame at displaying their bare breasts. A few necklaces, beads, or twisted feathers replace clothing on these nude parts of the body. Many of the personal ornaments of both men and women have the character of amulets or charms and will therefore be dealt with later on in connection with the religion of the natives.

Much the same may be said of the dress of the Mataco and the Tobas. Both of these tribes, and especially the Mataco, have been influenced

2: Karsten E-5 (1911-1913)1932 SI7 Mataco

Choroti SK6

take part in the dances, although courtship is connected with them. After the dances sexual intercourse is indulged in by the partakers in the festival, each girl choosing for herself a lover for that night among the dancing men.

Nordenskiöld mentions the Choroti as an instance of Indians who have purely profane dances, pointing out that they have special reference to the sexual life. The latter of course is true of some dances; but Nordenskiöld's mistake in regarding the Choroti dances as purely profane is due to the fact that he did not study their customs thoroughly and therefore failed to see the ideas underlying them. In fact, it is clear that the Choroti dances are gradually losing their original magical or religious significance and have a tendency to degenerate into mere amusements, a course of development which we frequently notice with regard to Indian customs. But even the Choroti dances still, in the main, retain their ceremonial character. Thus my Indian informant, an elderly man, told me that when the Indians dance they collect the whole supply of fruit gathered for the occasion in the house of an old man, i.e. a man initiated in the magic art; and *they believe that the dancing will make the fruit abundant* — not only these particular fruits, but those growing in the forest as well. The principle is again the same as in the Mataco dance to promote the growth of the sugar cane and in the Toba dance to make the chañar fruit abundant. As we have seen, the drumming, practised by the Choroti and the Mataco during the »season», has to a certain extent a similar object. That the chanting which accompanies the dances has at the same time for its object to frighten away evil spirits, is evident.

From this point of view it is interesting to compare the ceremonies performed by the Choroti during the »season» and the sexual liberty connected with them with certain »mysteries» of a similar kind practised by some Indian tribes in other parts of South America. Thus the Yurupary ceremonies of the Uaupes Indians in north-western South America present a close analogy to them. Among these tribes also certain mysterious ceremonies, consisting chiefly in dancing, are performed at those seasons of the year when the most important fruits reach maturity. The object of these ceremonies appears to be to influence the spirits which are thought to animate the plants and thus to promote fertility. Many facts show that these spirits are nothing but souls of the dead which have taken up their abode in the trees and plants. Moreover, at these mysteries sexual intercourse is promiscuously indulged in by those